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NATIVE AND N.A.T.O.

AS Yankee generals flash past on lightning visits to co-ordinate the N.A.T.O. satellites, I hope the village headman at the Foreign Office is told off to brief them properly on native customs. Some will have to be groomed for appearance at the Cenotaph on Armistice Day. (Or would it be discreeter to call it Poppy Day, the day of the flower of forgetfulness, before the Nazi generals are invited to attend next year?) When in their pomp they visit a certain tomb in Westminster Abbey, the Yankee generals may hear an echo of the poet addressing the Unknown Soldier lying buried there:

Though the time come when every Yankee circus
Can use our soldiers for its sandwichmen
When those that pay the piper call the tune
You will not dance. You will not move again.

Yes, there is a gap — a gap between the customs, hopes and intentions of the native peoples and the N.A.T.O. generals; a gap about the same size as that between these dollar-rich overlords and the dollar-poor Americans back home. Like the one who recently wrote to me: 'In this dollar-rich country the dollar is hard to come by. To anticipate difficulties next year, here's my subscription for two years to the greatest magazine in the "Free World," a beacon in this desert of Washington, D.C.' Now, American visitors like him at the Cenotaph or in the Abbey we would greet as brothers. How the American people are stuffed with lies about their neighbours is told by a Californian: 'Many of us out here get our sole news of what's going on in England via the prostituted dollar press and radio. We'd like some truth.' And a group of American trade unionists describe 'with what eagerness your magazine is read. We are particularly impressed always with the analysis which opens each number.' Another asks us to use the Free Specimen Copy scheme for the benefit of four friends and neighbours. There's a note of the real pioneering, forward-looking America in this correspondent, whose subscription is renewed until 1954 'when I propose to renew it for another four years; I am in my 86th year.' That is the spirit of our own Charlie Chaplin, who doesn't 'even want to look back, but just forward, forward, forward.'

FORWARD, NOT BACK

Forward, not back; more nationalisation, not de-nationalisation; greater confidence in socialism, not less. Remember last month's correspondent on the subject of 'instilling new life into our socialist ideals'? That was the note that kept breaking through at the Labour Party Conference at Morecambe, as this magazine was confident must happen. Those who followed the debates so closely know that a forward movement always means a struggle. For that weapons of 'mental fight' are needed. A London reader says 'this brilliant magazine is a magnificent weapon in the fight for peace and socialism.' Those who agree with her have a big opportunity now that the dust at Morecambe has settled and the picture is clear to see that this weapon is ever more widely used. There are difficulties; one is that the best people naturally enough have the least money. Those keen to spread the use of this weapon should note the experiences of some of our faithful regular readers who are our keenest circulation-builders.

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Notes of the Month

New Horizons

Take, first of all, Britain and France. . . . Can it be assumed that they will endlessly tolerate the present situation, in which, under the guise of 'Marshall Plan aid', Americans are penetrating into the economies of Britain and France and trying to convert them into adjuncts of United States economy.

(J. V. STALIN, 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.', February, 1952.)

THIRTY-FIVE years have passed since the victory of the first socialist revolution in the world. When this journal was founded, the new socialist state was just over three and a half years old: still struggling with the wreckage inherited from the old order, with famine and with foreign intervention. This journal was founded in the conviction that a new world era had opened with the war of 1914-18 and the first victory of socialism, that the capitalist order could offer henceforth only deepening crises and wars, and that the victory of socialism would extend over all countries in the coming decades. It was founded in the further conviction that Britain, the oldest capitalist country, was

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most profoundly affected by the new conditions, and that a complete transformation of the traditional dominant outlook, philosophy, leadership and organisation of the British labour movement was imperative to meet the new tasks. The experience of one third of a century has not only confirmed these initial conceptions, but has carried forward the whole development to a new high point. No longer one socialist state (a socialist state now charting new paths in the transition to communism), but twelve states of socialism and popular democracy, comprising over one third of humanity, today on this thirty-fifth anniversary stand outside the orbit of imperialism, with unconquerable united strength, and sweeping forward along the path of peaceful construction and economic advance, while the capitalist world sinks in crisis and conflict and falling standards. In Britain, under the blows of the crisis and the bankruptcy of old policies, the working masses are pressing forward and beginning to shake the foundations of the old dominant leadership in the Labour Party, and therefore the foundations of the political system of capitalist survival in twentieth-century Britain. Great changes have developed in the world. Great changes are preparing in Britain.

Signals of Change

With dynamic force during this past month of October, 1952, the signals of this changing world situation and of the changing political situation in Britain have compelled universal attention. These signals have been, in the world situation, the new Stalin statement on questions of economy (probably the most important development of the creative theory of Marxism-Leninism in relation to the modern world situation since Lenin's *Imperialism*) and the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; and in Britain, the Morecambe Labour Party Conference. The lessons and outcome of these new developments, alike in the field of theory and of practice, will require the most careful and far-reaching study and discussion; for they herald the opening of a new epoch, alike in world relations, and in the political situation in Britain.

Towards the Future

The new classic contribution of Stalin to Marxist theory has brought to the forefront all the questions of the economics of capitalism and socialism, not only for the Soviet Union in the vanguard of human development, but also bearing closely on all

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the problems and controversies of the British labour movement.* It has charted out with pioneering boldness and vivid concreteness, with combined theoretical and practical clarity, the path from socialism to communism. It has laid bare the new stage of the world situation, with the establishment of a system of states of socialism and people's democracy, forging ahead economically while capitalism sinks back, constituting their own world market and too strong for imperialism to have any practical possibility of overthrowing; and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, with its now heavily restricted world market and stifling of expansion, and consequent sharpening of conflicts between the American imperialist aims of world domination and Britain, France and the other imperialist powers. Thereby it has thrown new light on the character of the danger of war ('increasing', as noted by Malenkov) and of the fight for peace. The danger of war is increasing; but the type of war which the present stage of imperialism may unloose can take many forms, and could first develop as a war between rival imperialist powers (e.g. through a new aggression of a rearmed Western Germany against France and Britain or renewed offensive of Japan in South-East Asia). While the continuance of imperialism inevitably gives rise to war, the world peace movement can check a given war and win provisional victories in the struggle for peace, thereby winning time for the peoples to make the basic social changes which can alone finally remove the causes of war. The aims of the Soviet Union are set towards (in Malenkov's words) 'the prospect of preserving peace, the prospect of peace among nations'.

Moscow and Morecambe

The proceedings of the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. have demonstrated in practice the living picture revealed in this basic theoretical analysis. They have demonstrated the triumphant achievements and still more ambitious goals of socialism in the present phase, outstripping every previous phase, and already entering on the transition to communism with the vast construc-

* Thus the sections on the operation of the law of value as the regulator in the conditions of capitalism; on the law of maximum profit as the governing law of motion of capitalism; on the relation of monopoly capitalism and the state; or on planning and socialism: all these can be applied like a surgeon's knife to the current confusions of Fabian 'new thinking' or to the Attlee-Morrison-Strachey theories of running monopoly capitalism on the basis of a 'plan' and with an eye to 'welfare' as the 'new Socialism.' It may be noted that Stalin's contribution has repeatedly special reference to Britain, as in the discussion of Engels' statement on the possibility of the immediate abolition of commodity production through all-round socialisation as applicable then and also today only to Britain subject to the question of foreign trade; also the emphasis on the relations of Britain and the United States, and the question of American penetration of the British Empire.

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tion projects and all-round raising of standards. The reports and discussions of the Congress, breathing confidence, strength and optimism, have revealed the contrast with the chronic crisis, hysteria and pessimism of the capitalist world. They have laid down beyond the possibility of misconception the firm policy of the Soviet Union for peace. At the same time the proceedings of the Morecambe Labour Party Conference have revealed the rank and file of British Labour on the march, throwing off old leaders, reflecting the national anger at subservience to the American overlord, and searching for new policies to enter on decisive social change and win a new alignment for Britain in the world. The new spirit is stirring. We are entering on a period when the British working people will be assuredly able to play no small part in helping to build the new world.

Bombshells and Atom Bombs

On the same day that the first British atom bomb was exploded at Monte Bello, on October 2, the theoretical contribution of Stalin on 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.' was released to the world press. There is no question which explosion caused the wider repercussions in every country of the world. On the same day, to complete the record, over two and a quarter million votes of Labour Party members were recorded against the rearmament programme. A memorable day. Long vanished is the age when the declarations of Stalin or other Soviet leaders could be blanketed with silence or relegated to a corner in the official press of the once 'great' powers. The balance of the world has shifted. However inadequate or distorted the reporting, however overlaid with tendentious comment or malevolent speculation, the primary importance of these declarations as pointers to the world perspective had now universal recognition. The proceedings of the Nineteenth Congress overshadowed in all discussion the tedious antics of the United States presidential election. This was not only a recognition of the strength of the Soviet Union and its world role. It was also in fact a recognition, however unwilling, of the relentless accuracy and power of Stalin's analysis, which dealt in no propaganda, in no polemics or indictment, but only marshalled the indisputable facts of the world situation with such clearness and mastery that the conclusions could not be escaped, and which could only sound in the ears of the leaders of capitalism like an inexorable verdict of doom. In the language of chess the effect of the declaration was

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the effect of 'Check and mate in two moves'—not in terms of war, but in terms of the inescapable forces of historical development. In vain every political leader of capitalism in every country has set himself to reply to Stalin's analysis: Churchill, Eden and Butler in Britain, or Acheson in the United States. But simultaneously every concrete action they take in the real world confirms it.

Out of Their Own Mouths

What else is the raging controversy in the United States over 'the bankruptcy of containment' but the recognition of Stalin's thesis of the 'two world markets', the economic success, strength and accelerating advance of the states of socialism and people's democracy, and the deepening crisis of the countries of the Atlantic Coalition, with the consequent defeat of all the American programme of the 'cold war 'proclaimed as the triumphant strategy five years ago? Stalin wrote in February of 'the most important economic result of the second world war' as the 'disintegration of a united all-embracing world market', and the development of the 'united and powerful socialist camp' of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia. He described how the American-inspired tactics of 'containment' and the 'cold war' only served to stimulate this process, with boomerang effects for the countries of the Atlantic Coalition:

> It should be observed that the United States of America, and Great Britain and France, themselves contributed — without themselves desiring it, of course — to the formation and consolidation of the new, parallel world market. They imposed an economic blockade on the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies, which did not join the 'Marshall Plan' system, thinking thereby to strangle them. The effect, however, was not to strangle but to strengthen the new world market.
>
> But the fundamental thing, of course, is not the economic blockade, but the fact that since the war these countries have joined together economically and established economic co-operation and mutual assistance. . . . The result is a fast pace of industrial development in these countries. . . .
>
> The sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) will not expand but contract.

Recognising Hard Facts

And now compare the estimate of the most prominent theorist of American imperialism, Walter Lippmann, writing on 'the failure of containment':

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We are facing the consequences of the failure of the policy of containment. . . . We are in fact ourselves being contained. . . .

In large areas of the world which are not within the Soviet orbit the power and influence of the West is nevertheless declining. We are beset by rebellions and hostility in the Middle East and in Africa. Our situation is grim. The sphere of Western influence in the world is shrinking. (*Washington Post*, September 9, 1952.)

And Lippmann continues:

If there is one thing which more than any other we must teach ourselves to realise, it is that the Soviet Empire is now much bigger than the Democratic Coalition. . . .

And so we have now to learn to live in a kind of world for which our experience has not prepared us — a world where our adversaries are bigger than we are. (*Washington Post*, September 11, 1952).

'The sphere of Western influence in the world is shrinking'. 'The sphere of application of the forces' of the Western Powers 'will not expand, but contract'. Lippmann may turn the terms upside down, may describe imperialism as 'democratic', and call an 'Empire' the peoples who have driven out the imperialists. But the analysis of the hard facts of the world situation, and of the shift in the relation of forces, reveals a noticeable degree of parallelism.

They Protest Too Much

Similarly all the statesmen of the satellite countries of the American coalition have fallen over themselves in indignant repudiations of 'Stalin's attempt to drive a wedge' between themselves and their beloved American patrons and masters. Thus Butler at the Conservative Conference at Scarborough:

Stalin and his lieutenants have judged the time ripe to hasten the process by an open conspiracy to set Britain against the United States. Britain does not intend to be split from America.

And Churchill at the same conference:

The foundation of our foreign policy is a true and honourable comradeship with the United States. . . .

We shall certainly not fall into the snare made for us by the Soviet Government and their Communist adherents and fellow-travellers here or in other countries, and allow any breach.

The same tune was sung by the docile leaders of Right Wing Labour at Morecambe, by the Attlees, Morrisons, Gaitskells, Healeys and Mayhews, in singular unison with the leaders of Toryism at Scarborough, but by no means in unison with the manifest sentiments of the delegates at Morecambe ('there is in the party a great deal of real anti-Americanism', complained Healey). The same tune was sung by the Government Ministers of France

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and Italy and Western Germany. But these vehement protestations were superfluous. A cursory examination of Stalin's declaration would show that he did not attempt to 'drive a wedge' or engineer 'an open conspiracy' or set 'a snare' or manufacture 'a breach'. He described facts and showed where they were leading. And as soon as we examine the actions even of these self-same devoted American-loving Ministers, we begin to notice a certain discrepancy already at this initial stage from their zealous protestations.

Words and Deeds

Rarely indeed has there been so signal an example of Marxist analysis being immediately confirmed by facts. A McCarthy or Sam Watson might even be excused for concluding that these same worthy Ministers were jumping to attention as puppets of the Kremlin to vie with one another in their haste to obey their master's orders. On October 2 Stalin's analysis was published to the world. On October 8 the French Premier Pinay performed the unprecedented act of returning a United States Note to the Ambassador as an intolerable interference in French internal affairs, and won the applause of the French press for his action. France cannot tolerate, said the *Monde* of October 10, 'a transfer of any part of her sovereignty to another State'. On the same day, October 8, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Gruber, delivered a public speech denouncing 'the frequently impatient and unjustified interference of subordinate United States organs in Austrian affairs'. On the same day the West German Prime Minister of Hesse was raising a public complaint against the American financing and arming of secret terrorist and murder groups in West Germany with lists of names of left representatives to be assassinated in the event of war. And on the same day the British Foreign Office was raising no small clamour over the American exclusion of Britain from the Pacific Pact.

Britain and America

Of what use for Premier Churchill—'rejoicing', as he has told us, in 'my American ancestry'—to boast that the hearts of the British and American exploiters beat as one, when all the world can see what is happening in the Far East and the Pacific, in South-East Asia and the squeeze over tin and rubber, in the Middle East and the fight for oil, in relation to the rebuilding of Western Germany and Japan as industrial competitive exporters, over imperial

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preference and G.A.T.T., or the battle for markets over the world. On the same day as the publication of the Stalin statement the British atom bomb test on Monte Bello was excluding American observers, in retaliation for the exclusion of Britain from the American would-be atomic monopoly. On October 8, within less than a week of the publication of the Stalin statement, the *New York Times* was announcing that a 'new and unhappy stage' in Anglo-American relations over Iran was about to open, with the prospect that American tankers were on their way to Iran with the aim to secure Iranian oil and break the British blockade. On October 9 the Foreign Office spokesman was handing out 'pained surprise' over the American attitude on the Pacific Pact:

> Official quarters in London still profess to be ignorant of the real motives behind the opposition of the United States to any association of the United Kingdom with the Anzus Council.
>
> The British Government has accepted the position, though reluctantly and with pained surprise, that it is not welcome as a working partner in the council.
>
> (Diplomatic correspondent, *Manchester Guardian*, October 10).

And on the same day, October 9, the Conservative Conference at Scarborough was thundering against the American offensive on imperial preference and what Mr. Amery called 'the prison camp' of G.A.T.T., while the Colonial Minister, Oliver Lyttelton, was compelled by the atmosphere of the conference to declare that G.A.T.T. was 'crippling us in the development of our own commercial policy'. 'Crippling'. 'Prison camp'. Strong language this—not from Communists, but from eminent Conservatives and Government Ministers. If this is an 'open conspiracy', it is certainly more 'open' than conspiratorial. Stalin may well leave his Conservative critics to answer themselves.

Crisis of Social Democracy

The revolt of the satellite nations of the Atlantic Coalition against American domination is still only in its initial stages. As it develops, it will transform the face of politics, both in international relations and in the internal political situation in each country. The economic and commercial rivalry of the lesser imperialists against the American cormorant is not the same as the national anger of the peoples against alien domination and the indignation of the working class and socialists to be lined up by their leaders with the aggressive citadel of world reaction and imperialism. But many currents make a powerful stream. All the quisling political leaders of the dominant official parties who

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have allowed their role to be that of instruments for the American penetration and subjection of their countries will now fall into increasing discredit and become the targets of popular anger. None are more directly affected by this situation than the leaders of Right Wing Social Democracy. For they above all have made themselves the channels and spokesmen of American infiltration and supremacy; they have spread the myth of the new 'super-imperialism' under American leadership as the beginning of 'world organisation' transcending 'obsolete national boundaries'; they have sung the praises of the American 'saviour' and 'benefactor'; they have concocted the fairy tales about the transformation of American monopoly capitalism into a kind of Social Democratic Utopia. Now the palace of make-believe they sought to erect around the reality of American domination is falling about their ears, as the peoples begin to stir against the American taskmasters and their agents; as the consequences of their policy are revealed in economic worsening of conditions, crushing rearmament and the menace of war; and as even their own imperialist rulers whose lieutenants they are, begin to move to a certain antagonism to American expansionist commercial, financial and strategic aims. Hence the special character of the present crisis of Right Wing Social Democracy. The end of the Marshall era has left them bare indeed.

Changing the Record

Piteously Mr. Attlee begins to complain of the United States, in place of the previous official soft soap and fulsome flattery:

> It was difficult for us to sell our goods to the United States, partly because, though they profess a free trade for every one else, they protect themselves. . . .
>
> It has always seemed to me a little curious that the United States were very keen that all of us in Europe should plan our economies, but were unplanned themselves.
>
> (C. R. Attlee, speech to the Walthamstow Trades Council, September 6, 1952.)

Oh, Mr. Attlee! *'Et tu, Brute'*, as the American Ambassador might no doubt say. Where are all the eulogies which you and Mr. Morgan Phillips and Mr. Strachey used to din into our ears to paint a glowing picture of the United States as having transcended capitalism and become a higher kind of 'planned' 'mixed economy' very like ourselves? Vanished with the leaves of summer in the new autumn of discontent.

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Lament for Lost Illusions

But what alternative nostrum remains for the leaders of Right Wing Social Democracy to offer if they lose their American panacea? The cupboard is bare. Gloomily the conclusion is drawn in a recent issue of *Socialist International Information* (the bulletin of the Frankfurt International):

> The dominant position of the American economy by its very size—no matter what government is in power—can cause price and capital movements to disrupt the economic equilibrium in the smaller European countries.
>
> This fact, it seems to me, rules out all possibility today of realising socialism in one country; none of us, not even the British Commonwealth, is capable of having a planned economy.
>
> (André Philip, 'Theoretical Foundations of European Socialism.' in *Socialist International Information*, August 30, 1952).

Farewell, 'socialism'. Farewell, 'planned economy'. The American giant is all-powerful, and we are compelled to dance to his tune. Such is the unhappy conclusion of the 'theoretical foundations' of Right Wing Social Democracy.

Teaching Their Grandmother

Similarly the entire grandiose prospectus of the Labour Party Executive's *Towards World Plenty*, offered to Morecambe, was based on the pathetic little paragraph on the last page:

> For this proposal to be put into effect the support . . . in particular of the United States of America would be necessary.

Such is the 'new socialism'. Also Harold Wilson in his pamphlet under the misleading title *In Place of Dollars* sees the United States as the inevitable master of our destiny:

> Whether the American economy moves into a feverish boom or into a slump, either way we shall be in an impossible position.

And the solution?

> The solution of the world's economic problem depends therefore, to a large extent, on whether the United States comes to recognise that etc., etc. . . . She must realise that etc., etc. . . . She should recognise . . . The U.S. should be willing . . . It is vital that the U.S. should realise . . .

The United States must become 'an active partner in world recovery'. Thus the final 'solution' of the old leadership of Social Democracy (and here the Bevan leading group, with their 'World Aid' programmes dependent on the United States, agree in practice with the Right Wing, despite a few hesitant gestures towards a partial alternative policy) becomes to read a few kindly enlightening lectures from promising ex-students of the London

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School of Economics to the American monopoly capitalists on how to run their business. And if that fails? The deluge. The deluge began at Morecambe.

Portent of Morecambe

For Morecambe revealed the new currents that are stirring. Against the bankruptcy of old policies and leadership, against the surrender to American and Tory war plans, against the repudiation of socialism and acceptance of worsened conditions, the Morecambe Conference revealed with dramatic vividness the healthy revolt of the mass of the Labour Party membership. The Morecambe Conference was not a victory of the left. The traditional weighted undemocratic structure, excluding free choice of representatives by the working class organisations, and thus excluding the leadership of the left, casting the largest blocks of votes with little or no consultation of the membership, and confining rank and file election to the executive to one quarter of the seats, successfuly cushioned the shock, prevented the sweeping changes which would otherwise have taken place, and ensured the maintenance of right wing domination. The main policy documents adopted, as drafted by the Executive, carried forward the familiar right wing policy of the Atlantic Pact, the American war alliance, anti-Soviet hostility, economic sacrifices at home, etc. The composite resolutions from below which the Executive thought it prudent to accept, and which breathed a spirit completely at variance with the official policy documents, will be 'interpreted' by a predominantly right wing Executive. All this is true, and necessary to bear in mind, lest the press rumpus over such dramatic events as the rejection of Morrison from the Executive or gossip about 'splits' in the leadership, should give rise to a false picture of a transformation which has not yet taken place. Right wing leadership and policy is still dominant in the Labour Party, although less securely. The fight has only opened at Morecambe; it has still to be fought through. But Morecambe was a first portent of the future; and this portent has spread panic alarm in the circles of capitalism and the old right wing leadership.

Whither the Labour Party?

'All that can be said with certainty', concluded *The Times* on October 4, 'is that the party is heading towards its greatest crisis

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since 1931'. On a long-term perspective this may prove an understatement. The profound battle of policy that is developing within the Labour Party and the trade unions in Britain's present crisis is the most far-reaching in its implications since the foundation of the Labour Party. The inherent contradiction in the very character and structure of the Labour Party, between its basis in the working class and the mass organisations of the working class, and its official policy and leadership tied to capitalism and imperialism, is in the present era coming to a head. It comes to a head, not through the action of this or that leader, but through the very nature of Britain's present crisis. The area of liberal economic and social reforms and concessions, which could previously smooth over and conceal the inherent contradiction with a seeming unity of purpose, now grows contracted. The 1931 crisis was only a first preliminary foretaste of this deepening gulf. The Executive is compelled by its imperialist policy to call for economic worsening and a lowering of the standard of life ('difficult to maintain our standard of life', 'willingness to make sacrifices', etc.—Executive policy statement on Facing the Facts)—at the very same moment as socialism is sweeping forward elsewhere with soaring standards of life. The mass of the delegates at Morecambe, whose tumultuous upsurge so powerfully stamped the character of the proceedings, may not yet have represented a fully clear and consistent alternative policy. But they did express the universal national feeling of the people against American domination and the disastrous consequences of the American-led war policy. They did express the militant demand of the working class for a fighting policy to protect their living standards and make inroads into capitalism.

A Conference Without Precedent

Never since the foundation of the Labour Party has there been a conference comparable to Morecambe. There have been plenty of previous revolts of minorities and dissentient groups, which the machine has proceeded to annihilate without excessive difficulty, casting forth a Cripps or a Bevan as occasion might arise. But what was revealed at Morecambe was no mere battle between rival leading groups, as the press had sought falsely to dramatise the situation beforehand. The same conference which met Deakin with angry clamour, and which elected the Bevanite Crossman in place of Morrison, booed the same Crossman without mercy

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'for several minutes' when he sought to pose as the 'statesman' mediating between right and left. What was here revealed was an upsurge of the *majority* of the delegates, representing the majority of the active membership of the Labour Party, and foreshadowed already in the character of the over 400 resolutions preceding the conference; and the cumbrous distortion of the voting mechanism devised to defeat the will of the majority had to be brought into action with embarrassing nakedness.

Averting a Landslide

Supposing the Labour Party had been a 'normal' Social Democratic Party, based only on local sections and individual membership, that the conference had been composed only of delegates from the constituency sections, and that the entire Executive had been subject to election by the delegates of the constituency sections, it is sufficiently evident that Morecambe would have witnessed a landslide in which very little of the old familiar landmarks would have remained, and a new stage of the Labour Party, and consequently of political development in Britain, would have visibly emerged. The right wing leadership was only saved by lack of democracy. But it is a political truism that the mechanical devices of reaction to prevent expression of the popular will, while they can obstruct and retard development in the short run, in the end only increase the violence of the storm they seek to dam. If the direct election of the seven constituency seats on the Executive revealed a sweeping defeat of every right wing candidate, while the twelve seats allocated to represent the trade unions revealed only one change of no political significance, this does not mean that the same trade unionists, who through their constituency labour parties were sweeping forward in a militant direction, were completely unaffected by militant currents in their national unions. The Margate Trades Union Congress had sufficiently shown the contrary. It only meant that the old traditional practice of allocating the twelve trade union seats on the Executive on the basis of methods of behind the scenes bargaining sufficiently well known has nothing to do with any attempt to express the proportions of political opinions among the millions of trade unionists they are supposed to represent.

Trade Unionists in Revolt

Hence the endeavour of the Deakins and the Lawthers to present their battle for reactionary right wing policy against the

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feelings of the majority of the delegates as a battle of 'the trade unions' against 'the constituency labour parties' proved a weak bludgeon, because it was obvious to all that this fancy picture bore no relation to the real situation. The Deakins and the Lawthers had only just emerged from the fiery battles of the Margate Trades Union Congress, with votes of two to three millions cast against them and important resolutions carried in defiance of their denunciation. The significance of Morecambe is not only that the constituency labour parties are based on trade union branches and individual trade unionists, but with greater democratic facilities for the local rank and file expression of trade union opinion to discuss the issues and mandate their delegates. It is also that in most of the important votes on policy powerful trade unions were voting alongside the constituency labour parties against the right wing policy. The militant revolt of the working class spreads simultaneously in the trade unions and in the Labour Party. It spreads simultaneously on economic issues and on political issues. It spreads simultaneously on all issues, equally of international policy and of domestic policy. All this gives a special significance to Morecambe, different in character from any previous conference of the Labour Party.

Towards the Left

What was of no less significance at Morecambe was that the battle of the militant rank and file, moving to the left, was essentially a soldier's battle, which was far from being voiced or represented by the more prominant groupings of the leadership above. The press might seek to dramatise the crisis as the 'battle of Bevan and Attlee for leadership'. But the conference revealed that the leftward moving delegates, while supporting the Bevan group as a weapon against the right wing, and applauding their sentiments whenever these echoed hostility to American imperialism and the war policy or demands for a socialist programme, were in fact fighting for a policy, as expressed in the resolutions submitted by the constituency parties and in the speeches of rank and file delegates, and even in the important composite resolutions from below accepted by the Executive, which went considerably beyond any declarations of policy put forward by the Bevan group. This measure of differentiation between the militant policy demanded by the left rank and file delegates whose votes supported the Bevan group, and the very hazy and ambiguous statements of policy so far put out by the Bevan group, was a conspicuous

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feature of the conference which forced itself on general attention. Indeed, it was publicly noted at the conference by the right wing representative, Callaghan, when he stated that, while the Bevan group expressed support of the official policy of the Atlantic Pact and the American alliance, 'most of the people who voted for them don't mean anything of the sort'. The same differentiation was shown in the reception of Crossman. All these are important pointers to future advance.

Weaknesses of the Left

Jumping to the opposite extreme, the angry Gaitskell, on behalf of the right wing leadership, said after the conference that one-sixth of the constituency labour party representatives were 'Communists or Communist-inspired'. It is evident that the American infection is catching, and that the right wing leadership, like Senator McCarthy and General Bedell Smith, now see Communists and Communist 'plots' and 'infiltration' everywhere. This type of McCarthy propaganda has aroused not unnatural indignation in constituency labour parties, who know its falsity. Mr. Gaitskell has to create an imaginary fairy tale of the secret 'infiltration' of persons, because he cannot understand the open, honest and healthy influence of ideas. The artificial barriers of Transport House cannot shatter the practical unity of the working class in the daily struggle, in the workshop and the mine, and in the trade unions. The Communist Party and the *Daily Worker* can be proud of the role they have played in conducting during these years the fight for policies which are now beginning to receive wide acceptance in the labour movement and whose support is reflected in the growth of left opinion. This role of the Communist Party as the vanguard has been demonstrated for over thirty years in the labour movement. But there is still a very great variety of currents in the developing leftward opinion in the Labour Party. There are still many widespread confusions, e.g., the ready acceptance of plausible programmes about so-called 'World Aid Plans', which smuggle in by the backdoor the old policy of dependence on United States capital; the 'third force' illusions, which fail to understand the confrontation of the imperialist war camp and the democratic anti-imperialist camp; the insufficient knowledge of socialist development in the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, owing to press concealment and distortion, and even unconscious partial acceptance of capitalist calumnies; the separation of the industrial and political struggle

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into compartments. There is still lack of a concrete alternative programme of the left within the Labour Party, capable of winning the widest united support. All these questions will inevitably require to be further cleared in the development of the struggle. At the same time, and above all, the supreme need is for unity in action of all sections, alongside political discussion and clarification, in the common struggle against Toryism and Tory or right wing policy in the labour movement, in order to advance to the great tasks and responsibilities of the new stage.

The Fight Goes Forward

The most relentless offensive of the Tory Government, the employers and the right wing leadership, in unity with the millionaire press, must be anticipated against the developing militant movement in the Labour Party and the trade unions. They have seen the red light at Morecambe and at Margate. The Gaitskell onslaught, no less than the endless series of tedious anti-communist 'revelations' in all the mass propaganda organs of capitalism, are symptoms of this. But the more they unite their attack against the Communist Party and the left in the trade unions and the Labour Party in a common denunciation, the more they unite the ranks of all those who are sincerely concerned to fight for a new policy, for peace and for socialism. The urgency of the war danger, no less than the urgency of Britain's crisis, makes this common and united fight imperative. The signals point to political change in Britain, as in the world. The mighty inspiration of the advance of socialism over the world, of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the new Five Year Plan, of the triumphant achievements of the working people in the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia, of the growth of the world peace movement and the response to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to be held at Vienna in December, as well as the beginnings of revolt in all the countries of the Atlantic coalition against American domination and against the plans for a new world war—all these can give us just confidence in the approaching victory of the aims for which we fight. We are entering on a period of great and rising struggles in which the British labour movement and the British people can play a decisive part in ending the present disastrous policies and winning a new and happier future for themselves and for the world.

October 15, 1952. R.P.D.

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ON THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM

JAMES KLUGMANN

IT has been a long and a hard road. Fifty-four years ago, in March 1898, nine delegates, meeting secretly at Minsk, composed the first Congress of Russian Marxist organisations, and proclaimed the establishment of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Five years later, under Lenin's leadership, meeting in Brussels and London, the Second Party Congress adopted the Programme and the Statutes of the Party. Last month, the delegate, N. M. Pjegov, who was presenting the credentials report to the Nineteenth Party Congress, announced that the delegates represented a Party of nearly seven million members and candidate members. And this was a Party that had led the working people to power in October, 1917, and again to victory in the Great Patriotic War against fascism—events that had shaken the world, transformed the world situation, and opened up new vistas to the people of the world. This was the Party of Lenin and Stalin, that had trodden a long and hard road, but a road of triumph.

No other Congress hitherto held could report such achievements nor put forward with such confidence such grandiose perspectives. The watchwords of the 19th Congress were building Communism in the Soviet Union and preserving peace throughout the world.

What does it mean—to build Communism? It means making a reality of the greatest aim of the pioneers of scientific socialism, reaching that higher stage of socialism where the formula of 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work' can be replaced by the formula 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs'. It means abundance of products, the ending of all essential differences between town and country and between mental and physical labour, the formation of a new man with fully developed mental and physical powers, a many-sided personality, a new man that can master nature in the interests of the whole of society.

It was such an aim—the building of Communism—that was put before the Nineteenth Congress. To guide it in its discussions the Congress had before it, made available just before the opening sessions, a profound study by Stalin on 'The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.' This was a work of genius, a new contribution to socialist theory, analysing for the first time in

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Marxist literature the character of the economic laws of socialism and defining the fundamental conditions for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

What is needed, asked Stalin, to make possible such an advance? And he pointed in answer to three essential conditions. It is necessary, firstly, to secure the uninterrupted growth of socialist production as a whole with priority for the growth of the means of production. It is necessary, in the second place, to raise collective farm property to the level of national property. And, finally:

> It is necessary . . . to achieve such a cultural growth of society as will ensure all its members an all-round development of their physical and mental powers, enable members of society to acquire an education sufficient for active participation in the process of social development and allow them freely to choose a profession and not to be tied down all their lives, as in the case under the existing division of labour, to any particular profession.

To achieve this, Stalin explained, it is necessary to reduce the working day to at least six and subsequently five hours, to at least double real wages, and to provide to all members of society a polytechnical education.

Such an aim it was that inspired all the sessions of the Nineteenth Congress, not as some Utopian dream of the far-distant future, not as news from some 'Nowhere', but as something that could practically, concretely, be realised in the U.S.S.R. within the next period. With the achievement of this aim all the discussions, reports, contributions were linked. As a stage in such an advance the proposed fifth Five-year Plan was considered. In line with such an advance the Party rules were revised. The principal task of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, explained Nikita Krushchev, speaking on the proposed changes in the Party rules, consists in the building a Communist society by a gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, and to this majestic aim the activities of the Party will be subordinated. The historic significance of Stalin's new work, explained Kaganovitch, was determined by the fact that the task of building Socialism had been completed and the Party was now squarely confronted with the task of transition to Communism.

It is only within the framework of this perspective that it is possible properly to appreciate the economic and political advances made in the U.S.S.R. since the ending of World War II, and the proposals adopted by the Congress for the fifth Five-year Plan. At the heart of the advance made lies the astounding development

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of Soviet industry. Despite the colossal losses caused by the Fascist aggression, overall Soviet industrial production reached and surpassed the pre-war level in the course of 1948. Eight years —the equivalent of some two Five-year Plans—were thus lost in the struggle against fascism, a measure of the contribution of the Soviet people to the people of the world. But the losses, so quickly restored, rehabilitation and reconstruction, gave way to rapid advance to new heights. By 1951, the gross value of industrial production was more than *double* that of 1940 and the advance is accelerating still. In the course of this advance great new industrial areas have been developed. The Eastern Regions—along the Volga, in the Urals, the Soviet Far East, the Kazakh Socialist Republic, and the Union Republics of Central Asia, there is now situated the source of about one third of total Soviet industrial production. The fifth Five-year Plan put as a perspective a further advance for the whole Soviet industrial output of 70 per cent., so that by the end of 1955 the level of industrial production will surpass *three times* the pre-war level.

Agriculture is advancing side by side with industry. Malenkov, in his main Report to the Congress, announced that, despite all the ravages of war, pre-war agricultural output had been left behind, 13 million acres of new land brought under cultivation, and that the grain crop in 1952 was half as much again as that of 1940. With the great irrigation schemes and forest shelter belts, with the new network of canals, and the gigantic hydro-electric stations, huge new areas will come under cultivation, electrification of farming will spread throughout the countryside, deserts will become fertile, the climate more and more brought under the control of the Soviet people.

As Malenkov showed, and as was again and again confirmed in the discussions, in the U.S.S.R.—land of socialism—increased production means increasing the welfare of the people, rising standards of living. The Soviet working people do not have to fear that they will work themselves out of employment, and that their own efforts of production will lead to a crisis. The national income, which rose 83 per cent. between 1940-51, belongs in its entirety to the working people; three quarters of it is used to satisfy their personal material and cultural needs; the remainder for expanding socialist production and other state and social requirements.

Five times in the last five years prices have been substantially reduced, falling by one half in this period. The Soviet worker

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who earned before the war, say the equivalent of £6 per week, earns today (without overtime) over £9 at a constant currency, and by the end of 1955 will be earning £12. Real wages by the end of the fifth Plan, will be double, therefore of those of before the war.

As the Congress proceeded, and as, one after another, the achievements in industry and agriculture, education, health, culture, were reported, and the bright perspectives of the future were so confidently painted, from Malenkov's first opening speech to the closing of the sessions, the contrast of the two systems—socialism and capitalism—stood out in ever more glaring relief.

Stalin, in his brilliant *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* formulated the basic economic laws of capitalism and socialism. Capitalism, he explained, by its very nature works for:

> . . . . the securing of maximum capitalist profits by means of the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of a given country, by means of the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, particularly backward countries, by means of wars and the militarisation of the national economy.

In contrast, socialism, by its very nature, works for:

> . . . . guaranteeing the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the whole of society by means of the uninterrupted growth and perfecting of socialist production on the basis of the highest technique.

Here lies *the great contrast.* And this contrast was revealed again and again throughout the reports and discussions at the Nineteenth Congress.

Malenkov gave the comparative statistics of industrial output. Between 1929-51, the U.S.S.R. increased its industrial production by nearly 13 times. If it is taken as 100 in 1929, by 1951 it was 1,266. In contrast, symbol of the system, the strongest capitalist state, the U.S.A. increased its industrial output in the same period from 100 to 200 (double); Britain from 100 to 160; Italy from 100 to 136 and France from 100 to 104. And even these striking figures hide the tremendous losses suffered in industry by the U.S.S.R. during the war and the tremendous extent to which that increase of production which is shown in the capitalist states is based on war preparations.

Since the Second World War there has developed the division of the world into two camps—the camp of democracy and peace led by the U.S.S.R. and the camp of imperialism and war led (or rather dominated) by the U.S.A. And, as Stalin showed, the economic result of this division was the disintegration of the pre-

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vious single all-embracing world market and the emergence of two parallel world markets—the market of the socialist and democratic countries and the market of the countries of capitalism.

By the very nature and structure and laws of development of socialist society, the democratic market is an expanding market, giving no fears or problems of crisis, overproduction, unemployment, and impoverishment of the masses. The economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the other democratic states, relations of a type new to human society, based as they are on mutual aid and equality, with the self-less co-operation of the U.S.S.R., lead to a rapid increase of planned trade and a boundless vista of increased trade. In ever closer economic co-operation with the U.S.S.R., the industrial production of Poland reached, in 1951, 2.9 times its pre-war level, Czechoslovakia 1.7 times, Hungary 2.5 times, Rumania 1.9. times, Bulgaria 4.6 times, Albania over 5 times.

In utter contrast stands the imperialist market and the economic relations between the capitalist states This is a shrinking market in which one imperialist state vies with another in an ever more bitter struggle for profits, for markets, and in which, above all, with the uneven development of capitalism, the largest capitalist state, the U.S.A., strives to solve its problems at the expense of its rival capitalist which it likes to call its 'friends'. Thus the antagonisms grow greater between the capitalist states within the shrinking market, above all between the American and the other capitalists.

Whilst each capitalist power attempts to solve its growing problems at each other's expense, all try to solve them at the expense of the colonial, semi-colonial and economically backward countries. Here again is revealed so very clearly *the great contrast.* Speaking in the Congress discussions, Comrade Beria gave striking examples. Thirty-five years after the October Revolution, the once backward and colonial lands of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, with a total population of 17 million, produce today three times the electric power of the Near-Eastern States of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan with a total of 156 millions. Between 1928-51, heavy industry in this Soviet area increased 28-fold compared with 16-fold in the U.S.S.R. as a whole. In Soviet Azerbaidjan today there is one doctor for every 490 of the population, i.e., 8½ times more than in Marshall-aided Turkey and 23 times more than in Iran.

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Socialism lifts up the backward countries to the level of the most educated, capitalism not only pushes down the backward states, its colonies and semi-colonies, but tries to reduce to semi-colonial states its capitalist rivals.

The American imperialists, faced by the increasing contradictions within the capitalist world, look for a 'solution' in war against the Soviet Union and democratic states. They seek to knock together an aggressive war bloc, develop a colossal military machine, and try to force their 'allies' to transform their countries into military bases and to militarise their economies. But the turn to war economy increases still further the economic problems of the capitalist states and increases too the antagonisms between them. It does not 'solve' but intensifies economic crisis.

An increasing danger therefore exists of a world war of aggresion led by the U.S.-Great Britain bloc against the countries of socialism and people's democracy. But at the same time, as Stalin and Malenkov showed, so great is the danger for capitalism of such a war, and so great the growing antagonisms between the capital states that 'the contradictions which today rend the capitalist camp may lead to war between one capitalist state and another'. (Malenkov).

The aim of the Soviet Union and of all the democratic states is to preserve peace. It stands for the peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist systems, the improvement of trade and diplomatic relations between them. Though the Soviet Union is confident in its ability to repel every aggressor, and has proved this ability, it strives for a peaceful solution of all problems.

Emerging as a central task from the reports and discussions at the Nineteenth Congress was the strengthening of the fight for peace, the strengthening of the popular peace movement which unites hundreds of millions from different classes and strata of all countries. And in the new relation of world forces the aim of this movement, which is that of preserving peace and preventing another war is, in the words of Malenkov, 'a completely real one'. But, whilst the broad peace movement, if it develops in unity and action and breadth can stop a given war, the danger of war arises inevitably from the very structure of imperialism, and will be brought to an end, as Stalin explained, only when imperialism itself is ended.

The Nineteenth Congress was able to report achievements that are unparalleled in history, and perspectives that are bright and glorious. But it was not a complacent Congress by any means.

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Both in the main report and in the contributions there were very strong criticisms made of how both State and Party organisations were fulfilling the tasks ahead of them. Indeed the strength of the socialist system and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was made clear by the very existence of these strongly-voiced criticisms and self-criticisms. It was particularly stressed that the building of Communism and the work of the Communist Party demands greater criticism and self-criticism, and that it was necessary, in Malenkov's words:

> To combat, as the Party's bitterest enemy, everyone who obstructs the development of criticism from below.

The desperate efforts of the right-wing labour leadership in Britain to stifle and repress all criticism at the Margate T.U.C. and the Morecambe Labour Party Congress only serves to stress the strength of a Party and of a system that thrives on, encourages, and indeed, depends on criticism.

Stalin's work on *The Economics of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* and the reports of the Nineteenth Congress merit profound study in every country. They contain the deepest lessons for the international labour and progressive movement. Never has there been a congress in history that could report such achievements and put forward such gleaming vistas for the future, lighting up like a beacon for the people of the world.

It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that first showed the world that the working class and its allies could take political power out of the hands of the capitalists, that first demonstrated that the working people could govern and administrate *more effectively* than the old ruling classes, that there was a socialist path for agriculture. It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, that showed by leading the Soviet people in defeating the world fascist aggression the superiority of the socialist system. And now the first to complete successfully the building of socialism, they move onwards at the head of their people on the path to classless communist society.

That example not only turns the balance of world history against the capitalist class, and immensely facilitates the advance to socialism in all countries, but shouts out aloud to the workers and people in all countries to move, in their own way, along the socialist path. So that in a socialist world the dreams of the pioneers can be made a reality and war relegated to the museums of history.

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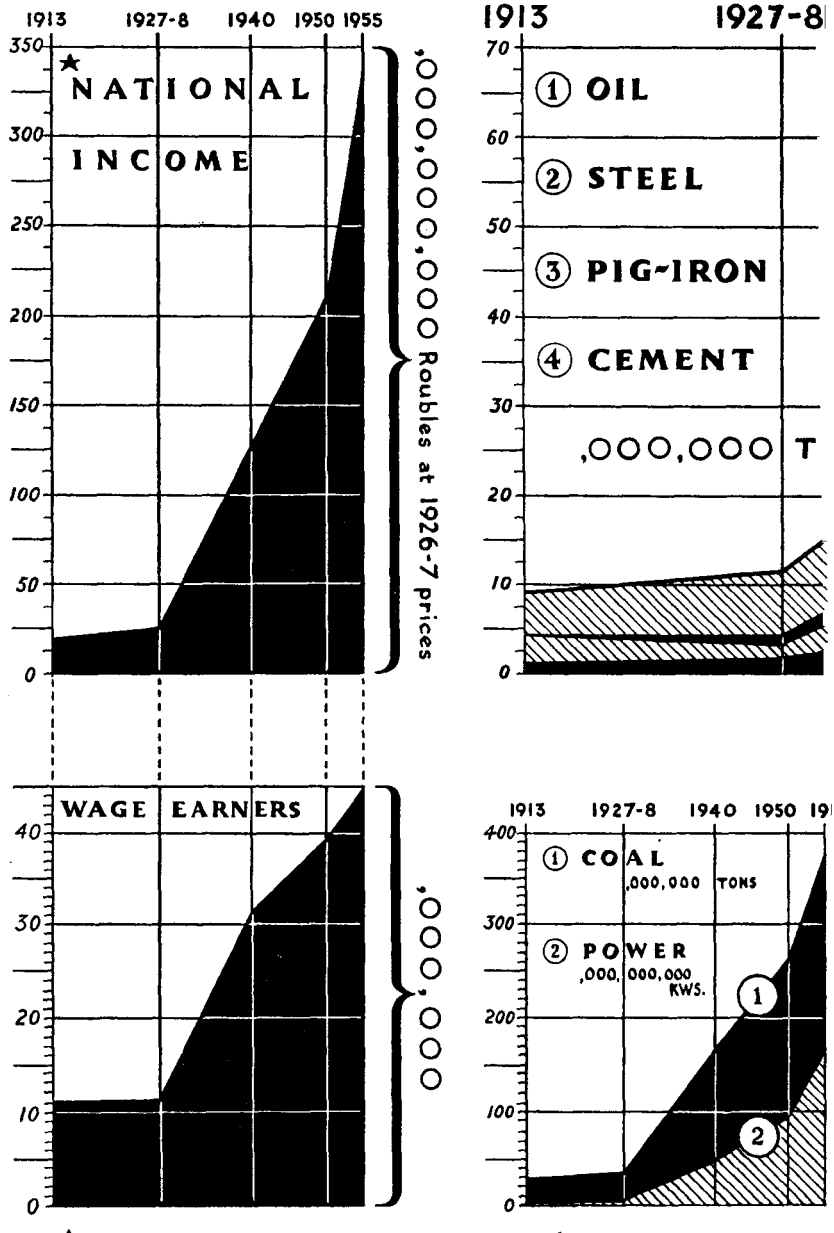

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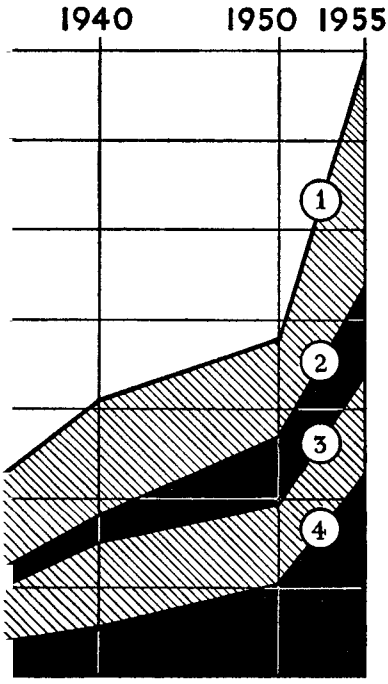

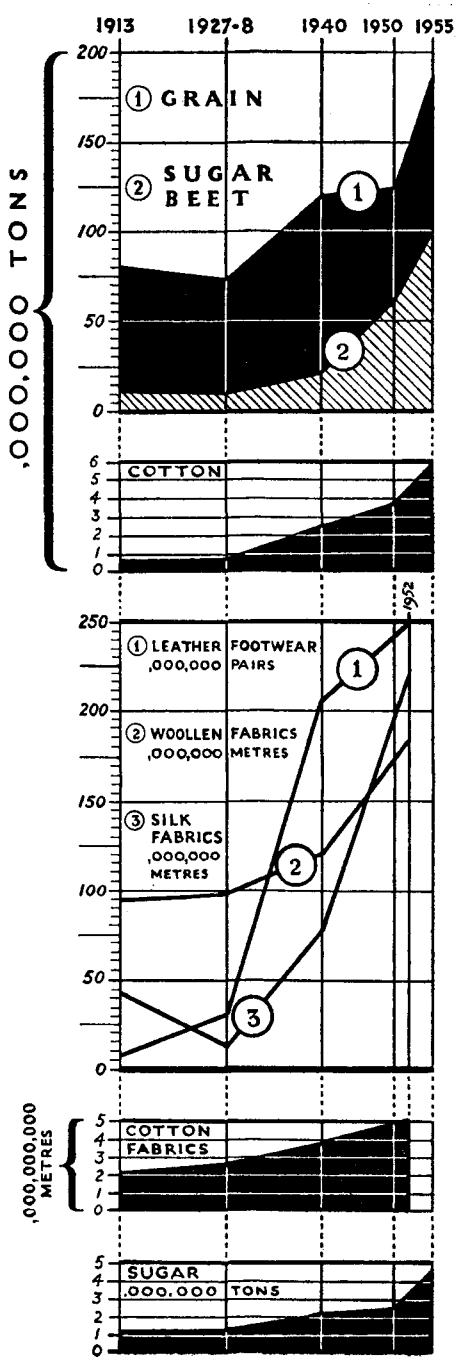

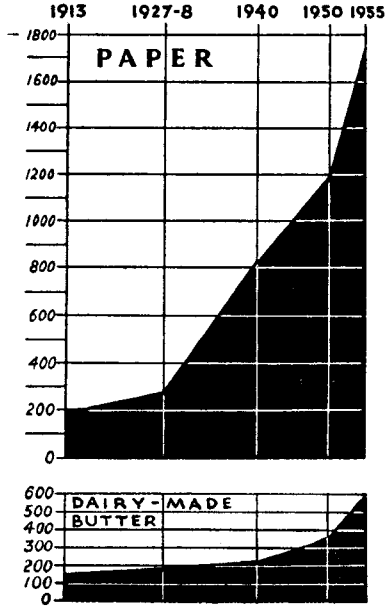

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THE MORECAMBE CONFERENCE

E. M. WINTERTON

'MORECAMBE is the end of an era for the Labour Party', dolefully announced the *Daily Telegraph* (October 4). 'After Morecambe the constituency tail is going to wag the party dog', moaned the *Economist* (same date). 'The attitude of the union rank and file is not easily predictable', gloomily wrote *The Times* Labour correspondent (same date). 'What is wanted is to draw this fiery spirit away from the battlefields of the past', sagely commented *The Observer,* leading article (October 5).

These comments are eloquent tributes to the fear aroused in the ranks of the capitalist class by the proceedings at the 51st conference of the Labour Party—which indeed in one sense were the end of an era. And the outburst of Gaitskell about 'mob rule' at the conference is one of many confirmations that the *New Statesman* was right in saying that there is 'something akin to frenzy among the managers of the Party'.

What happened at Morecambe, indeed, was that the conference gave loud and unmistakable expression to the disgust of the working class at the consequences of rearmament, and to the widespread—although not yet universal—realisation that rearmament was imposed on Britain by the Labour Party leaders under American dictation.

The conference adopted—the Executive prudently refraining from opposition—a composite resolution, as a basis for the next election programme, moved by two unions with militant leadership—the Foundry Workers and Constructional Engineers—and three local parties of the Greater London area. The resolution amounted to a repudiation of the policy pursued by Labour Governments since 1945. It demanded, among other things:

1. International trade 'on a basis free from restrictions imposed by political differences'. The same demand appeared in a later resolution, moved by five local parties as farflung as Devonport, S. Hammersmith, Coventry East and Sheffield (Haslam), and also adopted without E.C. opposition, which urged 'the promotion and expansion of East-West trade'; and in yet a third resolution for trade 'with all nations', adopted unopposed on the motion of the E.T.U.

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2. Freedom and self government 'for all oppressed peoples'. This idea found still clearer expression in the second resolution mentioned, which deplored 'the condemnation of the risings of the oppressed peoples as Soviet-inspired plots'. The obvious sympathy and even applause which met repeated reference to Malaya in the debates showed that the majority of local delegates knew very well where the cap fitted.

3. Strong opposition to the use of British arms 'to impose on any other country changes in Government or internal policies, or to vary by force existing treaties'. Again the debates showed that the delegates were repudiating Eisenhower's and Field Marshal Alexander's warmongering talk about 'liberating Eastern Europe', and the open propaganda in Western Germany for a war of revenge—by politicians who for years received the British Government's encouragement. Again too, the other resolution (of the five local parties) likewise condemned 'the use of our military strength as a means of enforcing territorial changes in Eastern Europe or elsewhere'.

4. Further nationalisation—with an instruction to the Executive 'to draw up a list of the key and major industries to be taken into public ownership during the five-year programme, it being made clear that no further sums of compensation shall be paid in respect of those industries being renationalised'. The adoption of this resolution without official opposition was after a similar motion had only been carried after a fierce debate in the T.U.C. (4.5 millions to 3.2 millions); moreover, the point about compensation corrected a conference vote on its first day, when a similar demand had been rejected by 2,386,000 to 1,652,000—some 2,000,000 votes not being cast. These decisions meant a flat rejection of the 'no more nationalisation' propaganda peddled by the *New Fabian Essays* and similar publications.

5. A bigger share of the national income for 'workers by hand and brain', and vigorous legislation 'to increase democracy in the workplace'. The latter demand was echoed in another resolution from six local parties (including the London Labour Party), also adopted without opposition—although the grudging speech by Webber, for the Executive, showed that they accepted it only with reluctance. But the demand for a bigger share of the national income was also the conference's answer to the appeal of its Chairman, Earnshaw, in his opening address (heard in cold silence) in which he asked it for 'realism', with the familiar cata-

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logue of Britain's trading difficulties, as the preliminary for telling that workers may have to 'accept some reductions in our standard of living'. And by the end of the conference the E.C. itself was accepting without opposition a resolution of the South Reading, Sheffield (Park) and Harrow parties expressing great concern at 'the ever increasing rise in the cost of living', and demanding 'firm control over prices and profits'.

The resolution of the five local parties, in addition, urged the Labour Party 'to be on its guard against the danger of supporting anti-working class forces in international affairs, the recognition of Franco's regime being a case in point'. This was no pious aspiration. At the opening of the conference it was announced that several parties had sent in emergency resolutions dealing with the monstrous 'compensation' to Krupps to the tune of tens of millions of pounds. When their views appeared as a composite resolution—denouncing 'restitution of a fortune accumulated in the service of the Nazi war machine, with the exploitation of slave labour', as mockery of the principles fought for in 1939-45—conference temper rose to fever pitch. There had already been a long debate on foreign affairs in which the whole American-dominated conduct of British foreign policy was condemned by speaker after speaker, including the spokesman of the N.U.R. The resolution was carried *nem. com.*

No less sharp a condemnation of Labour Government practices was the adoption (again unopposed) of a resolution which directed the N.E.C. to include in the next election programme a clear undertaking to announce without delay, if returned to power, 'an early and definite date' for the introduction of equal pay for equal work for women in the Civil Service, teaching profession and other public services. Well might the mover, Charles Pannell, M.P., say sharply that 'we have prated so much about this principle that it has degenerated into platitude'. So also Wilkinson (Agricultural Workers), in moving a resolution to put an end to the infamous tied cottage system, spoke of the 'antics of the Parliamentary Labour Party' on this question, their somersaults when they passed from opposition into office, the same talk from them as from the Tories. And when Knight (Seamen), for the E.C. did in fact begin the old Tory platitudes about 'this very complex question . . . don't handicap the next government . . . we shall consult the unions . . . remit it to the E.C.', conference grew indignant, and by a huge show of hands defeated the Executive—

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a demonstration which even the wielders of block votes did not dare to challenge.

So the resolutions adopted—in spite of plenty of muddled phrases about 'armaments now being built up to deter aggression' and resisting 'American, Russian or any other pressures'—do bear the impress of the present marked revival of militant socialist ideas among the British workers, under the heavy battering of experience and after twenty-five years of a barrage of liberalism with pink lipstick from Transport House. But it would be a mistake to look only at the successful resolutions.

Again and again it was made clear that the rank and file was overwhelmingly against the official policy on those resolutions which were voted down, and that they were defeated by the block votes of unions whose members were by no means unanimous in support of the officials speaking for them. Thus the Distributive Workers' resolution demanding reduction of the armaments programme as weakening Britain economically and, through American aid, further undermining her independence—amid some anti-Communist verbiage—secured 2,288,000 votes against 3,644,000, whereas substantially the same proposition had received only 1,272,000 at the Margate T.U.C. in September. Where did the difference of a million votes come from? Partly from more of the smaller unions (unions generally are affiliated to the Labour Party on smaller membership than to the T.U.C., since not all members pay the political levy). But mainly it came from the vast majority of the local delegates. The same applies to the 1,728,000 votes cast for a resolution of two local parties (Small Heath and Salford) demanding a campaign against the Tory government, including support for the trade unions where they are 'forced into industrial action to defend living standards'—a resolution supported by the A.E.U. and smaller unions, but also by hundreds of local parties.

The capitalist press, and certain trade union officials like Deakin and Lawther, howled aloud that this opposition of the great majority of the local delegates meant 'driving a wedge between the trade unions and the rest' and 'dislike of the unions'. What rubbish! By whom were the local delegates mandated? By the general committees of their local parties—in which most of the delegates as a rule come from affiliated trade union branches! And, as we have seen, a number of big unions actually took the side of the local parties—reflecting the differentiation within the

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trade union ranks which has been increasingly evident at conferences during the last twelve months, and at the T.U.C. itself.

When the 'Bevanite' candidates won six out of the seven places reserved for local parties on the new Executive, the handful of trade union leaders who, by judicious bargaining among themselves, had decided by block vote how the other eighteen places were to be allocated, were furious. But the real reason for their fury was the knowledge that, in this massive vote which displaced Herbert Morrison—after 30 years on the Executive—the militant feelings of the rank and file *inside their own organisations* (including the Transport and General Workers) were also expressed.

And this was not the least of the reasons why Arthur Deakin was shouted down when he tried to use his position as fraternal delegate from the T.U.C. to threaten the rank and file with an organised counter-campaign in the constituencies and alluded to trade union funds. They roared their applause when Fagan (Barrow) retorted that Deakin did not 'express the rank and file mentality of the trade union movement', which he heard every day, as Labour agent, in the workshops: and when he invited some of the big officials to come and work in the wards.

Indeed the militant speeches in which both successful and unsuccessful resolutions were moved, particularly on foreign policy which the delegates recognised as overshadowing all Britain's internal affairs, were an outstanding feature of this remarkable conference. They breathed a bold and vigorous spirit of socialism not voiced so openly in the Labour Party since the right-wing reactionaries and the then Tory Government between them defeated the 1926 General Strike. Indeed much that was said by delegates—as the capitalist press complains—was only said by Communists two years ago. But that only shows that the Communists were right. A number of forthright speeches on Malaya were exemplified by the remarks of Lawrence (Holborn and St. Pancras):

> If our policy is one of freedom and justice, let's start with Malaya. There the people are oppressed, there they have no freedom, no social justice. Let's withdraw the British troops: the Malayan people never asked them to come there. Can we square our talk about freedom for oppressed peoples with this continued oppression of one of them, and war against them?

And in speech after speech, from beginning to end of the conference, there spoke the spirit of rebellion against United States

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domination—its 'world market control' (Thirsby, E.T.U.), its 'red-crazy policy' (King, Devonport), its 'sixty richest families' (Finch, Norwood), its aim 'to disintegrate the sterling block' (Barnett, Liverpool), and to make Britain into 'an American aircraft carrier' (Pickford, Battersea), its use of Koreans 'as gooks on whom to practise the latest methods of war' (Mellors, Sheffield). Bevan got his loudest cheer when he spoke of the American 'fear of peace'. The right wing themselves paid unwilling tribute to this feeling—Mayhew, Foreign Under-Secretary from 1946 to 1950, admitting that Labour could 'cash in on the unpopularity of the U.S.A.'.

It is true that, as has been said about the resolutions, the speeches showed that confused non-socialist ideas have not yet disappeared. In particular gross ignorance of the Soviet Union's policy and achievements was manifest—fruit of the seven years' monumental lying about the U.S.S.R. by Labour Ministers, the capitalist press and the B.B.C. The Bevanite leaders were, for this very reason, conspicuous by their silence during the two days' debates on foreign policy and rearmament. Bevan was himself not averse to showing his 'independence' by slanderous remarks about Communism and the Soviet Union. He and his main followers remained mum when the right wing, knowing this weak spot in his armour, poured out torrents of lies about the U.S.S.R. and challenged him to say if he disagreed with the assumptions on which the whole policy of rearmament had been started. As a result, two composite resolutions on foreign policy, representing the views of many scores of local parties—on ceasefire in Korea and admission of China to the Security Council, and on immediate East-West negotiations over Germany with full German participation—were not voted on, although many strong speeches in their favour had been made. They were remitted to the new Executive. Moreover, the two main Executive documents—*Facing the Facts* and *Labour's Foreign Policy* were endorsed together with the resolutions mentioned above which challenge their very substance.

It is now clear that there are thousands of active Labour Party members anxious to fight for a new, unquestionably socialist, policy, confident from their own experiences that they can win mass support for such a policy, unafraid of the threats and abuse of the right-wing reactionaries or of the press blackmail about 'under-cover Communists' and 'fellow-travellers'. The more they

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develop that fight—and unless that fight is developed, the counter-attack of the furious right-wing reactionaries will gain ground—the more they are bound to realise that the fight for wages and against cuts in the social services is inseparably linked with the fight for a change in foreign policy. This single fight will gain clarity and effectiveness if with it comes the clearing away of the old 'Lib-Lab' misconceptions about socialism itself (the opportunist legacy of Ramsay Macdonald and Jimmy Thomas) and about the enormous socialist achievements of the Soviet Union.

Then indeed Morecambe, already an outstanding event in Labour Party history, will become the opening of a new era.

ENGINEERS IN THE FRONT LINE

J. R. SCOTT*

FRONT page news in all the newspapers of today is the wage claim of the engineers. Wherever there is a representative meeting of workers, a conference between the Unions and the Employers, a consultation with the Ministry of Labour, newspaper reporters are there, some genuinely reporting the facts to their newspapers, and others trying to pick up, imagine and invent 'bits and pieces' to use in an endeavour to poison the minds of readers against the engineers. The wage claim represents 'news' because it has all the possibilities of being the first real clash of interests between organised employers and organised workers since the end of the war. This is the first time since 1945 that the engineering employers have categorically rejected a wages claim. Negotiations since 1945 have had the following results:—

April 1946	6/-	a week on the National Bonus	
October 1948	5/-	,, ,, ,,	
November 1950	11/-	,, ,, ,,	for time workers only
November 1951	11/-	,, ,, ,,	for time workers only

which makes a total of 33/- a week increase to time workers and 22/- a week to pieceworkers in 6½ years. In January, 1947, a 44-hour working week was conceded. In November, 1951, an addi-

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tional week's holiday with pay. (This holiday payment is not a straightforward two weeks' holiday with pay. It is calculated at 1/25 of the day-work rate up to and not exceeding 44 hours).

In all the negotiations which have brought the results outlined above, the case presented by the Unions has always been on the ability of the firms to pay, and the facts and figures presented have always proved that the employers could concede substantial wage increases from their profits, but the amounts conceded have been very meagre indeed. So a position has grown up in which the profits margin of the employers has consistently widened, whilst the workers' margin of this 'equitable share' in profits has progressively become narrower. So we can appreciate the sincerity of the employers' spokesman when he states on July 31, 1952:—

> I should like to feel that there is still a feeling that we are working for a common cause. That cause is the good of the British people and the eventual triumph over their present economic difficulties.

and again on the same day says:—

> We have the fullest sense of responsibility in respect of the interests of the workers. We regard them as our colleagues.

We must make a note of these statements and see how real they are in the present situation.

The Unions advanced a claim for a substantial increase in the wages of all male manual workers in the Engineering Industry on June 26, 1952. It was stated that the word 'substantial' meant an increase of £2 a week. The claim was supported on the grounds that engineering companies have been experiencing exceptional prosperity since the end of the war, whilst the average worker has found his wages continually lagging behind rising prices, that productivity per worker is and has been steadily mounting, that the real wages of the workers is lower than it was five years ago, although output has increased in the period by about one half.

Let us examine those aspects for a moment or so. The tables of average earnings in the industry quoted by the Employers have a rather singular similarity to those published by the impartial Ministry of Labour. But those figures, accepted as they are without analysis, can be very, very misleading because those averages for all workers are related to 49.1 hours a week—over 5 hours a week above the standard. Furthermore, it leaves an assumption that all workers are working those hours. That is not so. Never-

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theless, when overtime is worked the additional incidents of payment have to be made. Moreover, the figures relate to one week only (the Ministry of Labour's figures to two weeks in the year), and we can rest assured that it is not the worst earning week of the year. So we cannot accept those figures as representing the average earnings of the workers. But the 'respect of the interests of the workers' shown by employers seems to be to urge them to work harder and longer to defend their country and solve the economic crises, and when they do so they throw those figures in their faces and say 'look what you have earned'. Colleagues indeed!

But if we take figures of earnings as provided by the Census of Production Reports and the Ministry of Labour we find that the Census figures were less than the Ministry's figures by five to seven shillings a week. In the latest report on National Income and Expenditure we find a table which shows the total Wages Bill in Engineering, Shipbuilding and Electrical Goods and Vehicles as follows:—

1948	£713 millions
1951	£900 millions

This is an increase of 26.2 per cent. According to the Ministry of Labour, average monthly employment in the same sections rose by 5.1 per cent. in the same period. It follows then that the average annual wage of the workers in 1951 was only about 20 per cent. higher than it was in 1948. The official Index of Retail Prices shows that the cost of living in approximately the same period went up by no less than 25 per cent.

The Central Statistical Office, in its publications of the new Index of Industrial Production, uses as its basis the level of production in 1948. It shows that the volume of average monthly production of Engineering, Shipbuilding and Electrical goods in the first quarter of 1952 was as much as 38 per cent. over the the average monthly level in 1948. The Ministry of Labour's employment returns show that the average monthly employment in Engineering, etc., increased between 1948 and the first quarter of 1952 by 4.9 per cent. The conclusion that must be drawn from these figures is that output per person is now 31 per cent. higher than it was in 1948.

The profits in the industry can best be illustrated by the figures published monthly by the *Financial Times*. Those show that

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Gross Trading Profits in 1951 rose by 24.5 per cent. The following table published on September 6, 1952, in the *Financial Times*, covering 392 companies in Engineering who have reported in the first eight months of this year speaks volumes for itself without comment:—

GROSS PROFITS
(£000)

Industry	*No. of Cos.*	*1951*	*1952*	*Percentage Increase*
Engineering	259	113,641	136,472	20·0
Electrical & Radio	74	56,656	69,050	21·8
Motors & Aircraft	59	41,913	47,241	12·7
Totals	392	212,210	252,763	19·1

EARNED FOR ORDINARY DIVIDENDS
(£000)

Industry	*No. of Cos.*	*1951*	*1952*	*Percentage Increase*
Engineering	259	34,924	40,436	15·7
Electrical & Radio	74	16,468	19,079	15·8
Motors & Aircraft	59	13,292	13,952	5·0
Totals	392	64,684	73,467	13·5

Note: *Earned for Ordinary Dividends* are profits after allowance for Depreciation and Taxation, Loan Interest, etc., and Preference Dividends and Provisions for staff and employees' pension funds.

These figures have to be seen in the background of terrific profits in 1948-49 and 1950.

We can safely say then that the average wage in Engineering rose from 1948 to 1951 by about 20 per cent. The cost of living has risen from January, 1948, to August, 1952, by 32 per cent. Output per person employed has risen by 31 per cent. Nett profits in Engineering, etc. (after deduction of Directors' Fees and Depreciation) were about 75 per cent. higher in 1950 than in 1947. Well might the spokesman for the Engineering Employers say 'that we are working for a common cause'. Indeed he is! The

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'cause' that he and the class he represents and fights for is that of *Rent, Interest and Profit.*

There is a much deeper reason for increased wages than all the figures can reveal, and it is simply that if the standard of living for the workers is to be improved, then the profit margin of the employers has to be reduced considerably and the stranglehold they have in industry, and therefore directly on the lives of the people in the country has to be broken. There is not the slightest doubt that the money is there with which the substantial increase in wages can be met—not, of course, if the god of Rent, Interest and Profit is to be served. The money may not be there in the easy way it has been since the end of the war. Anyway it is not our main concern how they find the money. Our main concern is to take every step to see to it that the standard of living is not only maintained but improved, and if this means attacks on the holy citadels of capitalism then that is how it must be. Without this conception then there can be no reason in Trade Union objectives—the control of industry in the interest of the community. The facts are that the employing class are making a drive on the engineers to find the extra effort for arms and exports and in this drive they are determined to churn up the industry.

When I stated at the Margate T.U.C. that the re-armament programme to which this country is committed is already having disastrous effects on the economy of Britain and the living standards of our people, I meant every word I said with emphasis. In fact this mad armament drive and the crazy attitude towards exports to 'close the dollar gap' are precisely the issues which are responsible for the unbalanced and crazy economy at the present time. The idea that engineering, or British Capital, can get us out of our difficulties by exporting in a world with the most prosperous markets cut off by a political ban—the 'Battle Act'—is an absurd idea. We have no part in this type of solution. But we are not going to surrender our right to fight for good living standards to save the balance of trade for the Engineering Employers or the gamblers in the 'City'. Rather would we turn our attention to the development of trade with the U.S.S.R., China and the New Democracies. We would prefer that less excitement should be caused over bridging the Dollar Gap, and a much greater concentration paid to the Plan for Engineering, the officially adopted policy of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. If more attention had been given to

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the Moscow Economic Conference, the fruits might now be falling in our country—building and manufacturing for construction, and not destruction.

The capitalist class have no solution to this problem other than consistently reducing the standard of living for the workers, and it seems that the Engineering Employers' National Federation have been charged with the task of carrying this line out. This is not a question of money alone. The issues are much deeper than that. *The issue is a class issue.* The capitalist class has decided to make a real frontal attack on working conditions. What other interpretation can be placed upon the Engineering Employers' decision to ballot vote their constituents—*before negotiations took a real place*—as to whether their members would be prepared to face strike action and resist a wage claim to the full? (And these are the people who refuse to negotiate with the Unions under duress).

The Engineering Employers are the most powerful organised body of employers in the country. On them falls the responsibility of opening out the class fight, whether they like it or not. Those working in the industry have now the position of honour heretofore occupied by the miners, and it is to resist and fight back, not only in their own interest but in the interest of the whole working class. This is indeed a position of honour and integrity, and one which calls for the support and backing of the working class as a whole.

We are now at the testing hour. Let all the apologists for capitalism deny this if they dare. The fight of the engineers today for increased wages is the fight of tomorrow of all the workers. To fail means we are on the slippery slope of degradation, poverty and despair. To win means greater hope, greater determination to go forward in the battle for life—for Socialism.

Sir George Young (1872-1952) who died on September 26th, 1952, former diplomat and expert delegate on the T.U.C. Missions to Russia in 1920 and 1924, was a valued contributor to this magazine.

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THE EMPIRE CONFERENCE

JOHN EATON

THE circles that shape the policies of British imperialism are seething with activity in preparation for the conference of Commonwealth Premiers that is to be held in November. Of the preliminary discussions of officials *The Times* writes as follows:

> Officials of the highest rank from all the Commonwealth countries meet in London today for a conference which is expected to last more than a month, in preparation for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which will open in the last week of November. The exceptional importance which is attached to this year's Commonwealth Conference . . . is further emphasised by the extent of the preparations. . . . Indeed, this preparatory conference has itself had the preparation usually reserved for the main proceedings.
>
> (*The Times*, first leader, September 22, 1952).

The conference will discuss the sterling area's balance of payment, trade policy, its trade with the dollar area, the markets for the main raw materials produced within the sterling area, possibilities of developing its resources, the financial structure of the sterling area, and in particular, the possibility of making the pound freely convertible—and many other such problems. However, the real significance of the conference derives from the fact that the black shadow of American imperialism will hang over every item on the agenda.

American imperialism has been mounting its attack against the British Empire for many years and its economic penetration has already gone far; but the onslaught that it now has in preparation is on a grandiose scale that surpasses anything that we have so far experienced. The lines along which the thought of the American monopoly capitalists is now moving became clear with the publication of the Paley Report and the discussions following it in the American press. The Paley Report which was delivered in June of this year is the work of a Commission set up by Truman in June, 1951, to enquire into America's future needs of raw materials. Its five lengthy volumes breathe with the spirit of big capital which—precisely in the manner that Lenin describes in his *Imperialism*—is greedy to monopolise the raw materials of the world and fears that capital from other lands may be able to hold it to ransom and to delay its expansion. The gist of its findings are that whereas in 1900 the U.S.A. produced 15 per cent. more

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than it consumed, by 1950 it consumed 9 per cent. more than it produced and by 1975 might well be consuming 20 per cent. more.

The Report views this increased dependence upon imported raw materials with considerable anxiety and asserts that 'the real question is whether capital, equipment, technology and management skills will flow into the expansion of the lowest-cost sources of supply in the less-developed countries at a rate sufficient to yield the necessary production'. The Report notes that the investment of private U.S. capital in the development of foreign resources meets with obstacles—mainly political in character—such as restrictions on the conversion of currencies, export and import controls, fear of expropriation, discrimination against foreign capital and so forth. The Paley Commission accordingly recommends the negotiation of '*investment treaties*' between the United States and countries with undeveloped resources. It also proposes long-term purchase contracts for raw materials. Add to all this the now loud and often-repeated talk of an American loan to 'back sterling' and thereby make possible its convertibility, and the main features of the three-pronged attack of American imperialism become clear, namely:

(i) long-term U.S. contracts for sterling area raw materials;
(ii) U.S. investment in the sterling area;
(iii) a loan from the U.S.A. to 'support' sterling.

The American intention is that the state and the monopolies should co-operate closely in clearing a way for the overseas investment of American capital. Moreover, investment plans and long-term contracts for materials will be closely integrated, by means of the 'investment treaties' and 'special resource agreements'. The following from page 68 of the first volume of the Paley Report gives the flavour of the whole business:

> In the contemplated Special Resource Agreements, the resource country's government would pledge its co-operation in removing the uncertainties which chiefly deter investors, in return for guaranteed prices or purchase commitments by the United States Government, plus an assurance that the United States would facilitate investment in both resource and general economic development. The agreement could cover tax laws, regulations applying to foreign ownership and management, administration of the labor code, export regulations, exchange restrictions, import permits, the right to bring in foreign technicians, transport facilities, compensation in the event of appropriation, and other matters of concern to investors.

Strings? No, hausers of steel intended to bind down in subjection to America peoples in every quarter of the globe, to make them

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accept a labour code dictated by the Americans, import regulations dictated by the Americans, export regulations dictated by the Americans, transport provisions dictated by the Americans and 'other matters of concern to the American investor' dictated by the Americans.

America's attitude is that of an imperialist power which considers that its economic and political domination over overseas territories is incommensurate with its economic strength and must therefore be extended. It is a continuation and a development of its whole post-war economic policy which has been dominated by the desire—typical of every monopolist—to have assured control over supplies of raw materials. The obligation imposed on recipients of 'Marshall Aid' to supply raw materials for the American stockpile, the state purchases of key raw materials and the price discrimination and use of other state controls against sterling area commodities (such as rubber and tin) were all weapons in an American imperialist policy which aimed at extending or acquiring a monopoly over important raw materials. Without this the continued expansion of the capital of the American trusts at the expense of other capitalists might be held back. Long-term purchase contracts coupled with 'investment treaties' clearly represent a further step towards consolidating American domination over sources of raw material supply. At the same time 'investment treaties' would help the U.S. trusts to place profitably their vast accumulations of capital piled up out of the exorbitant profits they have earned over the last ten years.

The concern of the American monopolies with overseas investment finds frequent mention in the U.S. press. 'There can be no doubt' writes the *Journal of Commerse* (8.9.52) quoting a report of the Twentieth Century Fund, 'that for a long time the United States must be the major source of any considerable surplus for foreign investment'. According to the *Washington Post* (12.9.52), Mr. Eric Johnston, chairman of the President's International Development Advisory Board, has set a target for overseas investment at the rate of four billion dollars a year, as against under one billion dollars in 1951.

As regards convertibility and the dollar loan to support sterling, clearly the American aim is to end the financial independence of the sterling area and subject it to the financial control of Washington. This has long been the aim of the Americans and on this more stubbornly than on anything else the British imperialists

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have resisted the American plans. Convertibility was made a condition of the original American loan, but the British Government abandoned it within a few weeks of its adoption in July, 1947. The European Payments Union was designed to force on sterling an indirect form of convertibility which would expose it to the superior pressure of the more powerful dollar; but by skilful manoeuvring and bargaining at the time of its establishment, the British capitalists again evaded the full force of the American attack.

However, for the British monopoly capitalists in dealing with the renewed American threat there are many complications. At the root of them all lies the pressure that the Americans are exerting on the sterling area countries, drawing them away from the British influence. Through the American dominated World Bank and through other channels, India, Australia, South Africa and other Commonwealth countries are being offered loans. These American gestures coincide with dwindling exports of capital from Britain, enforced by the circumstances of her economic crisis. This is a situation that the British imperialists view with considerable apprehension.

> The blunt fact is that the maintenance of this free flow of capital is the lynch pin that holds the sterling area together and that ensures that the overseas dominions still hold in London their needed currency reserves and certain minimum working balances.
>
> (*The Banker*, June, 1952)

However, the British imperialists hard put to it to find the means of suppressing the struggles of the colonial peoples against their domination and in their fear and hatred of the growing strength of the socialist world, invite the aid of the Americans in maintaining their common interests in imperialist exploitation. The dilemma of the British imperialists is that they want the American aid but they do not want the conditions on which it is granted.

For all these reasons—the strength of the American pressure, the growing American influence in certain of the Dominions, the British imperialists' fear of those who oppose their exploitation of the peoples of the empire—the new American bid for domination of the British Empire must be treated with extreme seriousness. Great forces are being mustered for the attack and the Americans already have many fifth columnists hard at work in British territories. Indeed, the very depth of Britain's present crisis and the foul name that the conduct of the British imperialists has won Britain in many quarters of the world, may help the American

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gangsters to disguise their true aims. Their offensive plot against the British Empire they will try to pass off as a generous gesture of help to Britain in her hour of need, as a square deal and a promise of economic stability for the colonial peoples whose economic life centres on the production of raw materials of which America is the main buyer. However, anyone who, knowing the elements of political economy, attempts to present the American 'investment treaties' and 'special resource agreements' as advantageous to Britain, must be attacked without mercy and any such suggestions must be exposed for what they are as betrayals of the interests of the British people. By the same token to accept American-backed convertibility of the pound is to sell the British Empire to Wall Street. To suggest otherwise is to shew criminal ignorance of the nature and characteristics of monopoly capitalism and its greed for profits and domination.

Despite the rapid intensification of the antagonisms between the American and British monopolies, it is no good looking to the British monopolies to defend the interests of the peoples of Britain and the British Empire. The monopoly capitalists of Britain give ground before the Americans and sacrifice positions vital to the defence of national interests, because they are like their counterparts in Western Europe before them and faced with the onset of Hitler, they dare not and cannot call to the support of the national interests the many millions of those whom they exploit. Under present circumstances the working-class alone can put forward a consistent policy for the defence of the national interests.

It is necessary therefore for the Labour movement to take the lead in the fight against the convertibility of the pound, against investment treaties and long-term contracts shackling the economic life of the countries of the British Empire to the American monopolies. It is necessary to fight against all the war plans of the American imperialists and for the policy that the Communist Party sets before the British people in *The British Road to Socialism,* a policy that stands for peace, for increased wages, for East-West trade, for a 'new, close, voluntary and fraternal association of the British people and the liberated people of the present Empire to promote mutually beneficial economic exchange and co-operation, and to defend in common their freedom against American imperialist aggression'. Only such a policy offers Britain any future.

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FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

A MINER ON THE FIRST TEN YEARS

As one who has followed very closely international economic developments, especially in Russia, and read extensively about the terrible persecution under the bloody Tsarist regime, I cannot express in words how great was my personal feeling of joy when the news flashed through the world on November 10, 1917, that the Russian Workers' Republic had been established. The history of the Revolution in Russia is an epic, and the courageous struggles of class-conscious fighters who for years suffered martyrdom in their attempts to overthrow the tyranny and oppression of Tsardom have thrilled all lovers of freedom. It is well now to remember, and to record clearly, that our Government ruling class were supporters of this bloody regime — in fact, blood relations. It should be noted also that no protest was ever sent by our ruling class against this notorious oppression. Although it was the toilers and peasants who suffered most, there were many others who dared to rise against this rule of murder and terror, and who were soon put out of the way — usually without any sort of a trial, or even the pretence of one.

As is always the case, oppression and persecution bred revolt, which — there, fortunately being a Lenin — was harnessed and organised and courageously used to overthrow the capitalist class and set up a Workers' Republic. Strange but true, we all looked upon Russia as one of the last countries where capitalism would be overthrown. Hence the great surprise and joy with which we greeted the Herculean achievement of the Russian workers. The workers in this country responded with the greatest enthusiasm, which created in their minds a great longing to accomplish the same here, in Britain, and to overthrow the profiteers and exploiters. We felt that what Russia could do we could do, and must do, if the workers are ever to be freed from slavery. . . .

To the Russian workers I say: 'Take heart, your conditions are improving while ours are being worsened. Russia is moving forward towards real liberty and freedom, while the workers of Great Britain are being driven back to serfdom and slavery.' Thus the workers of Russia have cause to rejoice, and ever to remember that Lenin was right in having not only the economic understanding, but the courage and determination to act in the right way. Long live the Soviet Workers' Republic!

From *The Russian Revolution and the British Workers*, by A. J. Cook, November, 1927

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Book Reviews

GENOCIDE

We Charge Genocide (240 pp. The Civil Rights Congress, New York. Collet's London. *12s. 6d.*) *The Dilemma of South Africa,* by John Hatch. (255 pp. Dennis Dobson. *18s.*) *People of the Deer,* by Farley Mowat. (316 pp. M. Joseph. *15s.*)

THESE books are concerned with different countries and are written with different aims and from different standpoints, but a common theme runs through all of them. However far apart they are geographically and culturally, and however different their economic conditions, the Negro people of the United States, the Africans and Indians of South Africa and the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic are all victims of the cruel oppression which capitalism deals out to those whose skins are the 'wrong colour,' who speak the 'wrong language' or who have the misfortune to be 'backward.'

We Charge Genocide is a petition addressed by the United States Civil Rights Congress to the United Nations, in which the petitioners —who include such fine Americans as Howard Fast and Paul Robeson —charge the United States government with committing the crime of genocide against the Negro citizens of the U.S.A. and call upon the U.N. General Assembly to prevent this crime and 'to assure the safety of the Negro people of the United States.' It is a tragic and terrible document, and one finds it hard to believe that anybody but an inveterate fascist could read it without feeling a burning indignation and hatred against the men who can commit or condone such crimes and yet mouth nauseous humbug about 'democracy' and the 'free world.'

It is not possible in a few words to do justice to the overwhelming weight of evidence contained in this indictment against the rulers of the United States. It contains a record of lynchings, brutalities and oppression of every kind which will amaze, as well as horrify, many who think they have no illusions left about the 'American way of life,' The petition, however, is more than a record of atrocities—important as it is that these should be recorded. In it we hear the courageous voice of *the other America* the America which will never yield to the hysterical propaganda and intimidation of the reactionary rulers and which must, sooner or later, triumph over Wall Street and the lynch mob.

With John Hatch's book we move to South Africa, where similar crimes are being perpetrated, though in very different conditions. Mr. Hatch made a tour of that country in 1950 and talked with many people, ranging from theoreticians of Malanazism to some of their greatest opponents. While it contains some interesting material and says a good deal that needs to be said again and again, *The Dilemma of South Africa* is in a number of ways an infuriating book. This is partly due to Mr. Hatch's reformist attitude and to his inability to see any way out of the 'dilemma' except through some miraculous 'change of attitude.' Moreover, while he perceives the mote in Dr. Malan's eye he manages to paint quite a rosy picture of present-day British imperialism in Africa.

> The Colonial Office is in its heaven.
> All's right with the world!

Or it soon might be, at least in 'British Africa,' if only our en-

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lightened administrators get their way and prevent repetitions of such unfortunate mistakes as the Seretse affair. Mr. Hatch also seems to suffer from some sort of 'guest complex.' There are passages in his book which could be compared with the reactions of a visitor to a particularly unpleasant concentration camp who did not like what he saw, but having been courteously received by some of the camp guards, felt a certain reluctance to say anything very offensive about their camp, or, if that proved impossible, then at least consider himself under an obligation to pay some kind of tribute to their 'sincerity' and 'good intentions.' The publisher's 'blurb' tells us that 'this book is an attempt to analyse rather than to pass moral judgements. . . .'

Mr. Farley Mowat is not afraid to pass moral judgements. He writes, and writes extremely well, about the Ihalmiut, a small Eskimo tribe in the Canadian Barrens—a people once fairly numerous, but so reduced in numbers by their contact with civilisation, as represented by fur-trading interests and other well-wishers, that by the middle of 1950 only two of the women were capable of child-bearing. Mr. Mowat lived with these people and he writes of their tragedy with deep feeling. He exposes the callous indifference of the Canadian Government. But he indicates that the Canadian authorities are not always indifferent—at any rate when profits are concerned.

> In the Spring of 1950 a commercial fishing company, supplied by air from Churchill, moved to Nueltin Lake. This company needed only one thing to make its fishing venture a success . . . and that was cheap labour. Now the Canadian Government is most anxious to encourage the spread of industries in the arctic, so what was more natural than to help out the new company by turning over to it the remaining Ihalmiut? In the Summer the Royal Canadian Mounted Police flew to the Little Hills country, picked up the Ihalmiut, despite their efforts to resist, and delivered them into the benevolent hands of the fish company. A news release pointed out that this was done solely to benefit the Eskimos, who would now be able to protect themselves from future disasters by assisting the white men.

The fish company failed and the Ihalmiut were cast loose to face the starvation which has been their lot following the mass destruction of their food supply—the caribou—with modern firearms. Mr. Mowat is better at describing the disease than at prescribing the remedy. The palliatives he proposes for the surviving Eskimos and Indians of Northern Canada seem pitifully inadequate. And in fact, in the final pages of his book, he proposes, metaphorically speaking, to cure the patient with a very large dose of deadly poison. He produces the argument that help for the Canadian Eskimos would pay good dividends in a future war against the U.S.S.R. We must hope that Mr. Mowat, whose eyes have been opened to a good deal, and whose sympathy for Canada's subject peoples seems real enough, will study what has been done for the cousins of his Ihalmiut in the Soviet Far North. He might then be able to envisage a better future for the Canadian Eskimos than that of cannon fodder in arctic warfare.

R. MALCOLM.

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'I WORK FOR MY BREAD'

My Song is for All Men, by Peter Blackman. (20 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *1s. 6d.*).

WHEN I see and hear labour leaders crawling and cringing as apologists for British imperialism, with all its savage brutality, I get an awful feeling of disgust. What a contrast — an inspiring contrast —to turn from them to the manly dignity of a spokesman of the oppressed colonial people. For while Peter Blackman's poem is for all men, his own people must get a special place in it. See how it opens:

My song is for all men Jew, Greek, Russian
Communist pagan, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, Pole, Parsee
And since my song is for all men
More than most I must state a case for the black man.

And Peter truly states a case. No cringing here, no crawling. Strong and resolute he marches through life as the black people live it. Toiling, sweating, starving, shivering, in all climes, at all occupations. Beaten down but ever rising up again. They are our brothers and they have borne a heavy burden. They want freedom and independence. We can help them to attain it and if we do they will be invaluable allies in our fight for emancipation. Have you ever thought of the contribution the black man has made to civilisation? Read this and it will be borne in on you. They have been the road-makers and the builders. They have sailed the seas and manned the furnaces. We can be proud of them and the labour they have given. Listen to this:

I bring rough hands calloused in the tumult of weariness
Strong-boned not given to prayer force strained to hard bruising
Bearing rough burdens to enrich men in England, America, France, Holland, Brazil. I work for my bread.

Feel the strength and dignity of it, 'I work for my bread.' Lousy, rotten parasites in this country and America may speak of them as 'inferior,' but where is one of them who stand up straight and strong like Peter and those for whom he speaks, and say, 'I work for my bread.'

Then there follows a real gem of poetry, something I wish with all my heart, that I could have written:

A woman comes with me long-limbed high bosomed proud of countenance
She walks abroad her presence dressed
Fluent of Earth and love
Sweet as the fresh-rained corn at early morning

With 'The Black Woman' at his side he travels the world, meets men of every clime and every colour and with them marches forward:

Till there be no longer famine in India
Till the Yangtse flood no more
Till we plant gardens in Gobi
Till we gather each year the harvest of the Sahara
Till our force bright as the atom blasts the evil oppression which cripples all our creations.

W.G.

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EAST-WEST TRADE

East-West Trade and our Economic Crisis, by David Wightman (18 pp. Union of Democratic Control, *1s.*), with an introduction by Harold Davies, M.P., is a most timely pamphlet by a writer who has made a special study of the subject of intra-European trade and has been closely connected with the Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva. It is factual and concise, and clearly and forcibly written. The author starts with a succint analysis of our chronic 'balance of payments' crisis, stating his belief 'that an important road to solvency is through a greatly expanded volume of East-West trade.' He shows that up to 1947 this was the generally accepted view of European economic experts; but since then East-West trade has been throttled as a result of Western Europe's subservience to American policy, and finally from 1950 onwards by the notorious Battle Act. The pamphlet closes with a section on the Moscow Economic Conference, and with the hope that 'the initiative taken at the Moscow Conference will be followed up by action at government level.' It deserves a wide circulation throughout the Labour and progressive movement.

M.D.

GLASGOW BOYS

The Young Wage-Earner—A Study of Glasgow Boys, by T. Ferguson & J. Cunnison (194 pp. Oxford University Press, *8s. 6d.*)

The Young Delinquent in His Social Setting by T. Ferguson. (158 pp. Oxford University Press, *10s. 6d.*)

These books which contain a mass of statistics concerning the social background, employment and delinquency records of the Glasgow lads who left State schools in January 1947, and for three years afterwards, are valuable for the picture they give of the social conditions of the ordinary working boys of one of the biggest industrial towns of Britain.

It is significant that the fathers of the vast majority were manual workers and of these one-third were semi-skilled workers and more than a third unskilled. Overcrowding was severe, one boy in three was living more than three persons to a room, and ten per cent. of the total four or more to a room. One quarter of the sons of skilled or semi-skilled fathers lived in slums or near slums, and the proportion was higher among the unskilled. These lads were of poorer physique and scholastic ability than those living in better districts and attended school less regularly.

Other statistics are given to show that boys with this home background are often physically stunted and of poor mentality, can only get unskilled work, are apt to change jobs frequently and to be still in dead-end jobs at the age of 17. It is noted that boys with such a background are the most liable to get into the hands of the police, particularly if other adverse factors are added, such as 'broken homes' and no desirable outside associations. It is not surprising therefore, that the delinquency percentage of these Glasgow lads was found to be 11.6 of the total—more than ten per cent. higher than the percentage over the whole area of England and Wales for the same period.

The authors' only contribution to the serious problem of how to break this chain of cause and effect is to suggest that: 'There is a failure to

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guide the interests and ambitions of youth into channels of social usefulness and their mental and physical energies into productive work.' They fail to realise that the whole drive of capitalism is towards destruction rather than construction with the result that (a) the mental and physical energies of our youth are destroyed or impaired; and (b) where these energies and interests still manage to exist they are doomed to frustration.

To escape frustration our young workers have to learn what is wrong with our society and how to change it.

JOAN B. THOMPSON.

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BOOKS

Golden Horn. Basil Davidson. Jonathan Cape. 336 pp. 15s.
Eritrea on the Eve. E. Sylvia Pankhurst. New Times and Ethiopia News. 74 pp. 7s. 6d.
Quakers Visit Russia. Edited by Kathleen Lonsdale. Friends' Peace Committee. 146 pp. 3s. 6d.
The Forrestal Diaries. Edited by W. Millis. Cassell. 542 pp. 25s.
China Stands Up. R. K. Karanjia. People's Publishing House, Bombay. Collet's, London. 256 pp. 10s. 6d.
China Today. Sundarlal, Hindustani Cultural Society, Allahabad. Collet's, London. 702 pp. 15s.
Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo. P. Sraffa and M. Dobb. Cambridge University Press Vols. VI, VII, VIII, IX, 24s. each pp. 400, 404, 388, 354.
The Dilemma of our Times. H. J. Laski. Allen and Unwin. 272 pp. 18s.
Introduction to Marxism. Emile Burns. Lawrence and Wishart. 64 pp. 2s. 6d.
The English Utopia. A. L. Morton. Lawrence and Wishart. 230 pp. 18s.
Readers' Guide to the Marxist Classics. Edited by Maurice Cornforth. Lawrence and Wishart. 116 pp. 2s. 6d.
Come All Ye Bold Miners. A. L. Lloyd. Lawrence and Wishart. 144 pp. 12s. 6d.

PAMPHLETS

Tory Attack Unfolds. Labour Research Department. 16 pp. 6d.
Transport Robbery. Labour Research Department. 12 pp. 6d.
Freedom From Want. Grigor McClelland. Friends' Peace Committee. 16 pp. 6d.
Facing Facts in Malaya. Gerald de Cruz. Union of Democratic Control. 12 pp. 6d.
Transport in the U.S.S.R. British Workers' Delegation to U.S.S.R., 36, Spencer Street, London, E.C.1. 8 pp. 3d.
Napalm. Science for Peace. 14 pp. 6d
North Ireland for Peace and Socialism. Andrew Barr. Communist Party, Belfast. 28 pp. 6d.

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A word to those readers who are planning once more to return their twelve 1952 copies in part payment for the bound volume. Here's a suggestion: we will bind copies free of charge for everyone sending in three annual *new* subscriptions, or six *new* half-yearly subscriptions before December 31. Make a note of that, Bound Volume enthusiasts. And what about the Hon. Librarians of trade union branches? Why not have your loose copies for the year bound in permanent form — and have a book on your shelves which will be referred to over and over again? Only a few days ago I heard from a trade union branch who have decided to complete their records by buying a complete set, by instalments. If they had started binding from the first year, after Black Friday in 1921, what a grand nucleus of present-day history of the working class they would have built up by now. The price this year will be 25s., or 10s. 6d. if all copies are returned in good condition.

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